HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I enter into no compromise with Slavery. I am for Justice, in the name of Humanity, and according to the Law of the Living God."

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HERALD OF FREEDOM.

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N. P. ROGERS, Editor.

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Friend of Man.

Politics--Abolition--Religion.

Mr. Editor,—It is quite common for religious men to object to abolitionism on the ground that it is a political question, as tho' politics and religion were a kind of antipodes, rendering it highly improper for him who has any thing to do with the one, to concern himself, in the least degree, with the other. The question involved in the abolition discussion is most clearly, both political and religious, and hence both parties are for standing aloof; political men, because it is a moral question; whereas, being both political and religious, it requires the action of both the politician and the moralist, of state and church. But to any such commingling of politics and religion, there exists the strongest exception, and nothing will quicker excite the popular clamor, especially on the part of political men. Now, to me, this state of feeling appears to be founded in error, and to be the result of the corrupt state of the politics of our country, which, being unable to stand the light of religion, are dragged away at the greatest distance from every thing that looks like religion by political managers, lest the pure morals of christianity should reprove their deeds.—Having made politics so corrupt and irreligious, that no good man can become a political manager, it is by laboring to produce an impression that a political and religious life can not meet in the same person, that they keep themselves in countenance, and retain the management of political affairs in their polluted hands. And just so long as the impression exists, that it is inconsistent with a religious life for a man to interest himself with political affairs, just so long the politics of the nation will be corrupt, and the government be in the hands of wicked men, who are always ready to sacrifice moral principle, to secure the interests of a political party. Should I be charged with a want of charity towards the politicians of the day, I need only appeal to their own statements, and their condemnation will be seen to proceed out of their own mouths.—The two great political parties in this nation charge each other with corruption of the deepest dye. Now, these charges are true or false: if they are true, then they are corrupt enough; but if they are false, they prove themselves corrupt by uttering such falsehood and slander about each other.

Now, what I wish, is to propose to those who are friends of religion, and political purity, to come up to the rescue, and place the politics of the nation on the high ground of moral principle. And to do this, we have only to act in view of the two following principles, which I regard as axioms, and which should be made the rallying point of the desired reformation.

1. Civil governments are just as responsible for their acts, in a moral sense as individuals are, and by actions morally wrong, they just as much become a guilty party in the sight of God, and render themselves liable to divine punishment. Isa. 6: 12, "For the nation that will not serve thee, shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Jer. 13: 17, "But if they will not obey, I will utterly pluck up and destroy that nation, saith the LORD." Chap. 18: 7, &c., "At what instant shall I speak concerning a kingdom to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them." These texts are produced for the purpose of showing that nations, in their collective capacity, are responsible agents, accountable for their national acts, as an individual is accountable for his individual acts. From this view it must follow that a nation, as such, is responsible for the conduct of each individual member of the civil compact, so far as such individual conduct has the sanction of law, or so far as government neglects or refuses to enact proper laws for the prevention of evil. It is true that the sanction of government does not exempt individual actors from individual responsibility and guilt; for the law of God is paramount to all other laws. A man can have no right to avail himself of the sanction of a bad law as a cover for doing evil; yet government, by giving its sanction to what is wrong, becomes a guilty party to the conduct of all who sin under its authority, and the guilt of individuals becomes the guilt of the nation.

Now let us apply the principles which I have laid down and established from the word of God, to the subject of slavery, and see if we are not a slaveholding and a guilty nation. I shall not here discuss the abstract question of slavery, as right or wrong, which I suppose most northern men will admit.—Taking it for granted then that slavery is wrong, I proceed to show that this nation is guilty of the sin of slavery.

1. The nation is guilty of the sin of slavery by having become accessary to the crime of all the slavery that exists in the individual states, as the constitution is generally understood. It is generally supposed that the Constitution of the United States, secures the right of slavery to the states as a state right, so that the general government has no constitutional power to interfere with it, as it exists within the individual states; but let this be as it may, I will take a position which will cover both sides of the question.

I say then, then the Constitution *does* secure the right of slavery to the states, or it *does not*. Now, if the Constitution does secure the right of slavery to the states, as a state right, beyond the control of the general government, then has the nation given slavery the sanction of its Constitution, and has become accessary to all the slavery for which the sanction of its Constitution can be plead, and the individual states by becoming parties to a Constitution which sanctions slavery, have become guilty of the sin of slavery, though no slaves are held within their state jurisdictions; for though they prohibit slavery within their respective limits, as states, yet have they given it their sanction and authority, as members of the national compact, and it exists under the authority of the non-slaveholding, just as much as it does under the authority of the slaveholding states, so far as the right of slavery is secured by the Constitution. We must be careful not to confound relations which are distinct from each other, if we would reason correctly hence, it is necessary to distinguish those actions of a state, which it performs as an individual and independent sovereignty, which relate only to self, from those acts which it performs as a member of the national compact, which relate to the whole nation. Now it is possible for a state to be anti-slavery in one class of action, and pro-slavery in the other. To illustrate the point New-York is anti-slavery in those actions which relate to our internal regulations,* while it is pro-slavery in those actions which relate to the whole nation, so far as slavery has the sanction of the general goverment. The fact that New-York has delivered herself from the guilt of slavery, when contemplated in one of these relations, does not in the least exempt her from the charge of the crime of slavery, when contemplated in the other relation. If the Constitution does secure the right of slavery to the individual states, then it is a pro-slavery document, and New-York, by subscribing to such a document, has sanctioned slavery within the *national jurisdiction*, though she disapproves of it within her *individual state jurisdiction*. I am aware that it may be said that the right of slavery was originally a state right which belonged to the states as individual and independent sovereignties, prior to the formation of the Union, and not being ceded in the federal contract, there never was a time when one state had the power of interfering with another state on the subject of slavery, and hence, that non-slaveholding states are no more responsible for the slavery that exists in other states, than they would have been if no union had been formed, and the general government had never been organized. I admit the premises in this argument, but deny the conclusion. Though no state had power to compel the other states to renounce slavery, yet each state had the right of refusing to enter into a confederacy, the members of which reserved to themselves the right of slavery, that is, the right of doing wrong, on the principle that slavery is wrong; and by a voluntary joining such a confederacy, each state has become accessary to the crime of slavery. This must appear perfectly plain, when it is considered that by joining such an association, a common interest has been created, a part of which is the price of the vile system of slavery, that while it is admitted that the slaveholding states pocket the greater portion of this cruel oppression, yet it is not to be denied that a portion of the proceeds goes into the common fund, the advantages of which are enjoyed by the non-slaveholding state. An illustration of this principle may be found in the Constitution, Art. 1. Sec. ix. While the Constitution here prohibits Congress from preventing the slave trade under twenty years, the ten dollars duty which it authorises to be imposed on each imported slave is the common property of all the states, and hence, the non-slaveholding states, while they may have nothing to do with slavery in their individual capacities, have, as members of the national compact, agreed that their partners may plunder Africa for twenty years, on condition that they will put a certain portion of the gain of their robbery and murder into the common fund, that they may grow rich on the price of blood. Can any member of such an association, founded upon such principles, be innocent of the sin of slavery? I think not.

I think I have now shown that the whole nation is guilty of the sin of slavery, if the Constitution, as is generally supposed, does not authorize the general government to interfere with slavery in the states; let us then look at the other alternative. I say then, on the other hand, if the Constitution *does* give Congress power over slavery in the states, then our nation is guilty of slavery for not having put it away. He who does not prevent evil when he has the power, is but little if any better than he who commits evil. I repeat my position, Congress has no constitutional power to abolish slavery in the states, or it has such power. If Congress has no such power, then the nation, and every state, is guilty of slavery, for having agreed to its existence within the national compact, and by consenting to enjoy its blood-stained profit; but if Congress has the power in question, then the nation is guilty for not having exercised it. Let our northern apologists for the south take which horn of the dilemma they please. Either will push them into the awful responsibility of standing accessary to the crime of slavery.

Having already extended my article far beyond the length I intended when I commenced, I must after all close it unfinished, to be resumed in another communication.

LUTHER LEE.

Utica, October, 1838.

*There are some lamentable exceptions to this remark.—*Ed. Friend of Man.*

"Roll of Infamy."

Under this caption, in the Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1839, we find an important political document, the result of much research, and manifesting a good deal of care and skill in the arrangement. Our limits do not afford room for the entire article. The first part shows the decisions in Congress upon sundry questions agitated in that body in years gone by—such as, the gradual emancipation of slavery in the district of Columbia, the Missouri question, &c. The latter part, which we republish for the purpose of reference, relates to the 24th and 25th Congresses, and shows who among the northern members, by their votes, "have linked the gathering infamy of slavery to their own names."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The names above the dash under each state, are present members, whose term expires March 3, 1839. The marks signify:

* Those who voted to lay petitions on the table Jan. 2, 1835, against the motion of J. Dickson, of N. Y. to refer them. Carried, 117 to 77. Majority 40.

† Voted "That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the district of Columbia." Feb. 8, 1836, passed, 132, to 45. Maj. 87.

‡ Voted for Pinkney's gag resolution, May 26, 1836. Carried, 117 to 68. Maj. 46.

‡ Voted for the admission of Arkansas as a slave state, June 13, 1836. Carried, 138 to 56. Maj. 82.

§ Voted for Hawes' gag resolution, Jan 18, 1837. Carried, 115 to 57. Maj. 58.

It will be noticed that those whose names are decorated with the above marks have nearly all failed of re-election. Let others beware.

‖ Voted for Patton's gag, December 21, 1837, which follows:

"Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, and papers touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves in any state, district or territory of the United States, be laid on the table without being debated, printed, read or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." Carried, 122 to 74. Maj. 48.

! Voted that John Q. Adams was out of order, because in illustrating the contempt cast upon the right of petition, he referred to a petition purporting to be from slaves, June 23, 1838. Carried, 115 to 36. Maj. 79.

MAINE—8.

*4, †6, ‡6, §5, ‖4, !3

Hugh J. Anderson,‖!
Thomas Davee,!
George Evans,
John Fairfield,†‡‡‖!
Joseph C. Noyes,
F. O. J. Smith,*†‡§
Virgil D. Paris,
Edward Robinson.

Leonard Jarvis,*††‡§
Jonathan Cilley,‖
Timothy J. Carter‖
Rufus McIntire,*
Gorham Parks,*‡‡‡§
Joseph Hall,*†‡‡§
Moses Mason,†‡‡§

NEW-HAMPSHIRE—5.

*1, †5, ‡4, ‡5, §5, ‖5, !4.

C. G. Atherton,‖!
Samuel Cushman,†‡‡§‖!
James Farrington,‖!
Joseph Weeks,†‡§‖
Jared W. Williams,‖!

Franklin Pierce,*†‡‡§
Benning M. Bean, †‡‡§
Robert Burns,†‡‡§

VERMONT—5.

Heman Allen,
Horace Everett,
Isaac Fletcher,
Hiland Hall,
William Slade.

MASSACHUSETTS—12.

*2.

John Q. Adams,
Nathaniel B. Borden,
George N. Briggs,
William B. Calhoun,
Caleb Cushing,
Richard Fletcher,
George Grennell,
William S. Hastings,
Levi Lincoln,
Wm. Parmenter,
Stephen C. Phillips,
John Reed.

Benjamin Gorham,*
John Davis,*

RHODE ISLAND—2.

Robert B. Cranston,
Joseph L. Tillinghast.

CONNECTICUT—6.

†5, ‡3, ‡5, §2, ‖3, !5

Elisha Haley,†‡!
Orrin Holt,‖
Samuel Ingham,†‡‡!
Launcelot Phelps,†‡‡‖!
Isaac Toucey,†‡‡§!
T. T. Whittlesey,§‖!

Andrew Judson,†‡

NEW-YORK—40.

*16,†28,‡27,‡27,§28,‖21, !22.

John T. Andrews,‖!
Bennet Bicknell,‖
Samuel Birdsail,‖!
John C. Broadhead,‖!
Isaac H. Bronson,!
A. D. W. Bruyn,‖
C.C.Cambreleng,*†‡‡§‖!
Timothy Childs,
John C. Clark,
Edward Curtis,
John I. De Graff,‖!
John Edwards,‖!
Millard Fillmore,
Henry A. Foster,
Albert Gallup,
Abraham P. Grant,!
Hiram Gray,!
Ogden Hoffman,
T. B. Jackson,!
Nathaniel Jones,!
Gouverneur Kemble,‖
Arphaxed Loomis,‖!
Richard P. Marvin,
Robert McClellan,‖!
Charles F. Mitchell,
Ely Moore,†§‖!
Wm. H. Noble,‖!
John Palmer,‖
Anasa J. Parker,‖!
Wm Patterson,
Luther C. Peck,
Zadoc Pratt,‖!
John H. Prentiss,‖!
David Russel,
Mark H. Sibley,
James B. Spencer,‖
Wm. Taylor,†‡‡§‖!
Obadiah Titus,‖!
Henry Vail,‖!
Abraham Vanderveer,!

Samuel Barton,†‡‡§
Abraham Bockee,†‡‡§
Matthias J. Bovee,†‡§
John W. Brown,†‡‡§
G. H. Chapin,†‡‡§
John Cramer,*†‡‡§
Ulysses F.Doubleday†‡‡§
Valentine Effner,†§
Dudley Farlin,†‡‡§
Wm. K. Fuller,*†‡‡§
R. H. Gillet,*†‡‡
Nicoll Halsey,*
S. G. Hathaway,*
Abel Huntington,*†‡‡§
Gerrit Y. Lansing,*†‡‡§
Gideon Lee,†‡‡§
Joshua Lee,‡‡§
Stephen B. Leonard,†‡‡§
Abijah Mann, Jr,*†‡‡§
Wm. Mason,†‡‡§
John McKeon,†‡‡
Charles McVean,*
Rutger B. Miller,§
Henry Mitchell,*
Sherman Page,†‡‡§
Job Pierson,*
Joseph Reynolds,*†‡‡§
Wm. Seymour,†‡‡§
Nicholas Sickles,†‡‡§
Joel Turrill,*†‡‡§
Aaron Vanderpoel,*†‡‡§
J. B. Van Deusen,*
Aaron Ward,‡‡§
Daniel Wardwell,‡‡§

NEW-JERSEY—6.

*1, ‡3, ‡1, §2, !5.

John B. Aycrigg,!
Wm. Halstead,
J. P. B. Maxwell,!
James F. Randolph,!
Charles G. Stratton,!
T. Jones Yorke,!

Philemon Dickerson,*†‡
Ferdinand S. Schenck,†§
Wm. N. Shinn,†§

PENNSYLVANIA—28.

*1, †15, ‡9, ‡11, §10, ‖14, !13.

William Beatty,‖!
Richard Biddle,
Andrew Buchanan,‡§‖!
Edward Darlington,
Edward Davies,
Jacob Fry, Jr.,†‡‡§‖!
Robert H. Hammond,‖
Thomas Henry,
Edward B. Hubley,†‡‡§‖
George M. Keim,!
John Klingensmith,†‡‡§‖!
Henry Logan,†‡‡§‖!
Charles McClure,‖
T. M. T McKennon,
Matthias Morris,
Samuel W. Morris,‖!
Charles Naylor,
Charles Ogle,
Lemuel Painter,‖!
David Petriken,‖!
Arnold Plummer,!
Wm. W. Potter,!
David Potts,
Luther Reily,!
John Sergeant,
Dan Sheffer,
George W. Toland,
David D. Wagener,†‡‡§‖

Joseph B. Anthony,†§
Michael W. Ash,†‡‡§
Andrew Beamont,†§
George Chambers,‡
John Galbraith,†‡‡§
Joseph Henderson,†
John Laporte,†
Job Mann,†‡§
Jesse Miller,†‡‡
H. A. Muhlenburg,†‡‡‖
Joel B. Sutherland,†‡
J. G. Watmough.*

OHIO—19.

*7,†11,‡7,‡6,§10,‖1,!6.

J. Alexander, Jr.,
John W. Allen,!
Wm. K. Bond,!
John Chaney,*†‡‡§
Thomas Corwin,
Alexander Duncan,
Patrick G. Goode,
T. L. Hamer,*†‡‡§!
Alexander Harper,
Wm. H. Hunter,‖!
Daniel Kilgore,†‡‡§
D. P. Leadbetter,!
A. W. Loomis,!
Samson Mason,§
Calvary Morris,
J. Ridgeway,
Matthias Shepler,!
Taylor Webster,§
Elisha Whittlesey.

William Allen,*
Elias Howell,*†‡
Robert Mitchell,*
Wm. Patterson,*†,§
David Spangler,*†‡§
Benjamin Jones,†
Wm. Kennon,†‡§
Jeremiah McLene,†‡‡§
Bellamy Storer,†
John Thompson,†§

INDIANA—7.

*4, †6, ‡2, ‡2, §2, ‖1, !1.

Ratcliff Boon,†‡‡§‖!
George H. Dunn,
John Ewing,
William Graham,
William Herod,
James Rariden,
Albert S. White.

John Carr,*†§
E. A. Hannegan,*†§
George L. Kinnard,*†‡
Amos Lane,*†‡§
John W. Davis,†§

ILLINOIS—3.

*1, †3, ‡3, ‡2, §3, ‖3, !2.

Zadoc Casey,†‡‡§‖!
Wm. L. May,*†‡§‖
A. W. Snyder,‖!

John Reynolds,†‡‡§

MICHIGAN—1.

Isaac E. Crary,!

Total, * 37, † 82, ‡ 61, ‡ 63, § 70, ‖ 52, ! 62.

NORTHERN SENATORS.

Their terms of office, (which continue six years,) expire March 3d, in the years opposite their names. The marks signify as follows:

* Mar. 10, 1836. Voted to lay anti-slavery petitions on the table. Carried 24 to 20.

† Mar. 1, 1837. Voted in favor of recognizing the independence of Texas. Carried, 23 to 19. March 2, Mr. Ruggles, of Maine, moved to reconsider. Lost 24 to 24.

‡ Dec, 18, 1837. Voted to lay on the table the question of receiving anti-slavery petitions. Carried, 25 to 20.

‡ Jan. 6, 1838. Voted for Calhoun's third resolution, that the general government is bound "to give increased stability and security to the domestic institutions of the states." Carried 31 to 11.

§ Jan. 9, 1838. Voted for Calhoun's fourth resolution, that systematic attacks on slavery are "a violation of solemn obligations, moral and religious." Carried, 34 to 5.

‖ Jan. 10, 1838. Voted for Clay's resolution against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Carried 36 to 9.

¶ Jan. 10, 1838. For Clay's resolution against abolition "in any territory of the U. S." Carried 33 to 9.

☞ Jan. 10, 1838. Voted to lay on the table a resolution (proposed by Mr. Smith, of Indiana,) in favor of FREEDOM OF SPEECH, and of THE PRESS, and the RIGHT OF PETITION. Carried, 23 to 21.

☞ Jan. 16, 1838. Voted to lay on the table the Vermont resolutions. Lost, 12 to 26.

! March 21, 1838. Voted against considering Morris's resolutions proposing an inquiry in reference to the slave trade with Texas. Lost, 31 to 8.

MAINE.

1841 John Ruggles,†
1843 Reuel Williams,‡§*

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

1840 Henry Hubbard,*‡§¶*
1843 ☞ F. Pierce ‡§¶*

VERMONT.

1839 Benjamin Swift,*
1843 Samuel Prentiss,*

MASSACHUSETTS.

1839 Daniel Webster,
1841 John Davis,*

RHODE ISLAND.

1839 Asher Robbins,*
1841 Nath R. Knight,*

CONNECTICUT.

1815 Dennis Kimberly,
1839 ☞ J. M. Niles ‡§¶*
1843 Perry Smith,‡§¶*
1837 Gideon Tomlinson,*

NEW-YORK.

1839 N. P. Talmadge,‖
1843 Silas Wright ‡§¶*

NEW-JERSEY.

1839 S. L. Southard,*!
1841 Garret D. Wall,

PENNSYLVANIA.

1839 Samuel McKean,*
1841 James Buchanan,‖‡§¶*

OHIO.

1839 Thomas Morris,
1843 Wm. Allen ‡§¶*
1837 Thomas Ewing,*†

INDIANA.

1839 John Tipton,
1843 Oliver H. Smith,
1837 Wm. Hendricks,†

ILLINOIS.

1841 J. M. Robinson ‡‖§¶*!
1843 R. M. Young,‡‖§¶*

MICHIGAN.

'39 Lucius Lyon ‡§¶*
'41 ☞ J. Norvell ‡§¶*!

From the Amherst Cabinet.

At a Convention of eighteen Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of the gospel, resident in the county of Hillsboro', holden at New-Ipswich, Aug. 29, 1838, the Rev. E. P. Bradford was called to the Chair, and John M. Whiton was appointed Secretary.

The subject of slavery being taken into consideration, the following resolutions which had been previously passed by the Hollis Association of ministers, were unanimously adopted by the Convention:

Resolved, 1. That all men are born equally free and independent.

2. That every man has certain personal rights, which cannot be alienated but by his own consent.

3. That an assumption of these rights by another, is contrary to the laws of human existence.

4. That it is morally wrong for one man to hold another as property, for use or traffic, law and usage notwithstanding.

5. That it is right for the friends of man and of moral principle, to discuss this subject, either in private or in public, with sound argument and with christian benevolence both toward the oppressor and the oppressed; and to publish such discussions.

6. That it is contrary to established principles relative to other objects, to restrain men from this subject, in a prudent, peaceful and reasonable manner.

7. That public addresses and printed publications, which are applied only to the passions, are not adapted to convince men of their errors, or to reform them of their vices.

8. That men generally are agreed in their sense of human rights; and discrepancy of views respecting the measures for preserving, defending, or regaining them, ought not to produce collision or alienation of feeling.

9. That it is right, as far as there are means and opportunities, to use sound argument and moral influences to convince slaveholders of the evil of slavery, and to let the oppressed go free.

It was voted by the Convention, that the above resolutions be published in the Cabinet.

JOHN M. WHITON, Sec.

From the Friend of Man.

Extract of a Letter from Charles Stuart to Gerrit Smith.

BATHWICK HILL, BATH, July 17, 1838.

My dearly beloved Friend,—Shortly after my arrival here, last September, an anti-slavery convention was determined upon, to meet in London; and I took a tour round the north in order to invite a select delegation. Circulars called for a similar movement, from the other parts of the country. The meeting was numerous, zealous and unanimous. A central committee was formed—and an energy, and a devotedness, such as have characterized the glorious course of the American Anti-Slavery Society, started into life. This devotedness and energy continued until after our last defeat in Parliament, at the close of May; when it subsided as suddenly as it had arisen. In all this period, that is, from the middle of October till the end of May, my whole energy and time were absorbed in the effort.—Until it began, I had nothing definite to write,—from its commencement till its conclusion, changes impended and occurred so rapidly, that something prospective always demanded delay, or left no power of exertion unexhausted: and since it has ceased, I have been laboring to recover the tone of mind and body, which might enable me to sit down, and write in a measure as I wish, to the brethren of my heart in the United States. Even still—while thus addressing you—there is a wretchedly paralyzing torpor and confusedness about my whole frame. I am contending with it, but only half prevail.

But it will interest and please you more, to have a brief history of our recent struggle.

In 1833, you know, a parliamentary act was passed, veiling slavery under the name of apprenticeship—except in Antigua and Bermudas, the legislatures of which rejected the insane deception, and substituted liberty at once.

This act, with some exceptions, seems to have infatuated the whole nation. The anti-slavery heart sunk to slumber. The government entangled and oppressed with slaveholding influences, deeply corrupted by having slaveholders in its own ranks, and tottering with the contest waged between anarchy and despotism, was left to struggle single-handed, with a power, against which no limited government can successfully contend—a wealthy, long-established, thoroughly organized, and extensively ramified, slaveholding aristocracy—and, of course, the government was a creature in its hands.—Slaveholding legislative acts, of the grossest iniquity, were ratified as satisfactory—the millions of the nation, granted in behalf of freedom, were paid with most indecent haste, in support of the basest and most cruel delusions of triumphant slavery; and the tyrant became more haughty and insane (if possible) than ever—and the poor slave continued to perish.

God, the holy and the just one, the eternal enemy of tyrants of every name, the unchangeable friend of the poor remained—the British heart, permanently and forever at war with slavery, remained—and there was a man in England, built up of God, and all prepared for the struggle, not to end till slavery is every where exterminated.

Some of you saw Joseph Sturge, at New-York. I mention him particularly, because God had peculiarly combined in him all that was requisite for the movement—George Thompson, whom many of you know and love, might be named—John Scoble, whom, if you knew, you would not less admire and love, might be named—but neither of them could have led the movement which Joseph Sturge was qualified to lead, and which he did lead, beautifully—with the simplicity of a child, with the moral grandeur of a mighty man; and with talents that surprised and delighted all of us. He had never been effectually deceived, and the partial delusion, which he had for a while admitted was soon swept away. He kept his eye open on the slave colonies. He corresponded with them; his heart received their groaning; until, at length, in October, 1836, he went himself to explore the facts of the prison house: Scoble, Harvey and Lloyd accompanied him.

He returned in the spring of last year, and together with other old and established friends of freedom, immediately began to spread information as widely as he could. God gave him three excellent *extra* coadjutors: 1. James Williams, whose liberty he had purchased, whom he had brought from Jamaica, and whose simple narrative, published in tract form, was widely diffused.—2. Dr. Fahner, a medical gentleman, of Jamaica, who had been one of the stipendiary magistrates of that island, and whom the pride which is taken in its own craftiness, had dismissed, for having too faithfully performed his sacred duty; and 3. The noble band of Baptist missionaries in the island. When the information thus diffused had sufficiently begun to take effect, the convention above mentioned was called, and sat in London. We continued nearly a fortnight together. It reminded me of an agent-convention in New-York two years previously. We dispersed, in order to extend the knowledge and the feeling, with which we were fraught. We convened again in March, and again dispersed; and again convened in May.

The government opposed us energetically throughout—but the slumbers of fraud and

tyranny, in which they had been indulging, were effectually broken, from the time of our first convention. Measures of partial justice were immediately resorted to by them, with vigor, and at length a parliamentary act was passed, in April, under their influence, more insulting to the slave-faction, than absolute emancipation would have been; yet gilded with that contemptible flattery, which makes pride smile at its own degradation—for the principle, absurd and criminal under a free government such as ours, [not, of course, under a government of slaveholders] was insisted upon, that the legislation ought to be left to the slave legislatures; and concurrently with this base and criminal delusion, the crown colonies, which had no chartered or popular legislation, were kept in slavery. The parliamentary act above mentioned, is called Lord Glenelg's bill: I suppose it might, with strict propriety, be called Sir George Grey's.

But an effect of our measures, quite as important as the awakening and stimulating to some portions of equity, a decidedly adverse home government, was the startling of the slaveholders themselves. Awed, at once, and irritated, they have extensively proceeded to anticipate the parliamentary act, by legislating themselves in favor of liberty. In addition to Antigua and Bermudas, who were sufficiently aware of their own interests to do the same from the beginning [four years ago] we have received information on which we can depend, that Cape of Good Hope, St. Kitts, St. Vincents, Nevis, Montserrat, Barbados, and Tortola, (or the Virgin Isles,) will be free by acts of their own legislatures, already passed, on the first of August. We have much reason to hope that Jamaica, Honduras, Grenada, Dominica, and Tobago, will do the same: and then we believe the ministry of the Crown, will, through shame, do the same for the Crown colonies, Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and the Mauritius. Thus, the delightful hope is before us, that within the present year, the blight and the stain, and the crime of slavery, will be obliterated from our empire. It is on this hope that the nation has relapsed into repose—for though defeated in Parliament, it believes itself victorious in fact.

I greatly lament this posture of my country. That legislative acts substituting liberty for slavery, *in name*, will be passed, I believe in common with others, but they will be passed by indignant and writhing pride; conquered, indeed, but not penitent; and I have no doubt that they will be entangled with cruel, pernicious and irritating clauses, or by-laws—so as to involve much outrage and suffering to the laborer, and much public discontent, portending danger, together with disorder and loss. Had we retained our noble anti-slavery posture, all, or much of this would, I am persuaded, have been prevented. But the startling and wholesome awe which drew them to comparative rectitude, being withdrawn, they must, in various degrees, subside into their own guilty standard, the standard so brutal and so base, by which tyrants every where—whether imperial, like Nicholas, of Russia—or plantation, like McDuffie and Hayne, of South Carolina—estimate the rights, as sacred and dear as their own, of the unoffending poor, on whom they are inured to trample without shame or remorse. This unsettled posture of our affairs, together with other reasons, induces me to defer my return to America, until next summer. The coming winter session of our Parliament will, I believe, settle the matter.

Believe me, most affectionately, yours,

C. STUART.

Senator Morris, of Ohio.

There are few political men who can give so good an account of themselves as does Senator Morris, in the following extracts from his reply to the Ohio Whig Convention.

"To the people I feel a high responsibility and will answer to them at a future day.—My business now is with the whig convention, and in answering the charges which they have made, I most willingly appear on trial before the people of the state. I should not fear a verdict from the great body of whigs themselves.

"I have advocated, and voted for, the liberty of the press, as the undeniable right of every citizen. The whig convention must have been of an entirely different opinion, if sincere in the broad assertion they have made.

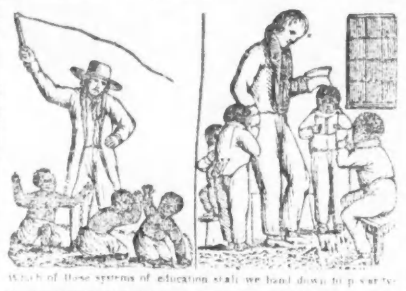
"I have contended for the right of petition as belonging to every reasonable being, subject to the laws of the country. The whig convention must be considered as denying this right. They no doubt would confine it to a selected few, who should be judges, both of the form and matter, for which the many should petition.

"I have opposed, and voted against the further extension of slavery in every case in which I was permitted to do so by the constitution. The whig convention must undoubtedly have viewed slavery with a very favorable eye, and felt willing for its extension into every state in the Union. As they paid a very high compliment to the Hon. William C. Preston, of South Carolina, the presumption is strong, that they were in favor of admitting Texas into the Union, and of hanging abolitionists; the opinion of the last general assembly of the state to the contrary notwithstanding.

"I have opposed the slave trade between the different states, and with the republic of Texas. The whig convention probably thought this trade an honest mode of turning a penny, and have set me down a political heretic in this matter also.

"I have voted against subjecting the papers and packages carried in the mail, to inspection and detention by the different postmasters. For this, also, I am condemned by the whig convention, as having not sustained the opinion of a 'large majority of the people of the state.'

"I have contended that all men are born equally free and independent, and have an indisputable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In this particular, I have no doubt, I am entirely antipode to the whig convention.' This, with them, was probably deemed my worst heresy, as I have never been able to discover that it formed any part of the faith of true whigs."



Which of these systems of education shall we hand down to posterity.

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: OCTOBER 13, 1838.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.

DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

All men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity—namely the enjoyment of life and LIBERTY, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and obtaining happiness and safety.—CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA.

Dr. Wayland.

A recent journey through a portion of the glorious anti-slavery state of Vermont has prevented our preparing our weekly salute for this Reverend limiter of human responsibilities, this slackener of human obligations to God and man. We mean to compliment the Doctor in our vulgar way at least once a week for some time to come—till we have discharged fully all our legitimate, binding, *unlimited* responsibilities to the anti-slavery cause on his behalf. His work is the wickedest thing we have seen, done by the enemies of freedom. Done too by a Baptist—of the same profession with glorious John Bunyan and Roger Williams—in the town of Providence too, where Roger Williams retreated for conscience' sake! Shame on the Doctor. And we feel some indignation moreover, and it is past human patience to suppress it entirely, when we see these title-proud savans using their formidable stations and their trained and cunning scholarship, to excite the mobocracy against us,—hunted and menaced and mobbed as our brethren have been in this charming free republic. To see these Doctors "cry havoc, and let slip"—*from their learned recesses and penetration*, with all the cold-blooded cruelty of an old, inquisition-tending cardinal.—It tires our patience.

We have read recently a case in point touching the Doctor's "Limitations"—from a book which the Doctor must admit an authority, whatever his Jewish compurgator of New-York, or his Gentile admirer of Concord may do. The case is in the *New Testament*—It illustrates very well our doctrine of limitations of human responsibilities. It gives a case or two of responsibilities *limited*, and one of responsibilities *unlimited*.—A certain poor colored Israelite went down (we may be inaccurate as to names) from Jerusalem to the neighborhood of Canada—and fell among ——Americans, *which* stripped him of his raiment, (outside and inside) wounded him—plundered him soul and body—put out his mind's eye, and left him—a good deal worse than dead. And by chance there came down a certain Priest that way and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a certain Doctor, in the orderings of *Providence*, chanced to *land* that *Way*—he came and looked on him—but being of exceedingly "limited responsibilities," he passed by on the other side and put up a guide-board, to turn off all who might travel that *way*.—But a certain Samaritan,—a rash, misguided, responsibility-sort-of-man who cared more for his own conscience than for the Doctor's limitation guide-board, as he journied, (through life,) came where he was and when he saw him he had compassion on him—and *went to him*, and bound up his wounds, pouring in the oil of anti-slavery and the wine of immediate emancipation, and he set him on his own Samaritan beast, and brought him to an inn and took care of him—and, "inferior" as he was, and having no dealings with Samaritans, he staid all night with him, and the next day, at parting, took out some little matter of "*compensation*" and gave it, not to the thieves among whom the man had fallen, but to the honest tavern keeper, and told him to take care of him and he would foot the bill of *consequences*.—Now which was neighbor to the poor man—he of the *limited*, or he of the unlimited responsibilities? We commend the Doctor to the story in the New-Testament. *Major* Noah don't hold to that book—we don't know how it is with *Colonel* Barton.

Peace Convention at Boston.

The Peace enterprise, though technically distinct from ours, we consider as allied to it, and it is one in which all genuine abolitionists will take a deep interest. We hail the recent Convention at Boston as most auspicious to the cause of humanity. We are aware of the divisions among the friends of the cause of Peace, and that some brethren retired from the Convention, for the very *manly* reason, that that portion of the "inferior race" called women, were allowed to act in it. Now we admit at once that every man (not to say woman) has a right to his own opinion. He has a right to think (so far as that goes) that women and negroes are inferior beings—or that either of them are, and that they can't rise in this country—or participate in the moral and intellectual reformations of the age. Let them think so, if they can, and let them have unlimited right and opportunity to declare and discuss their opinions, in Convention, as well as out,—and let them who differ from them in opinion treat their opinions and themselves with respectful consideration, and answer them argumentatively. When they advance opinions publicly, let no one get up and go out, as certain women and *males* too have done, sometimes in certain meetings where we ourselves were "speaking our minds,"—get up, with termagant crossness and slam doors and *tote out*. This is very unbecoming, and exceedingly unargumentative, and those who hold that women have no right to "*speak in meeting*," ought to hold they have no right to *argue* in that way. We are sorry brethren saw fit to leave the Convention, because women were in it. They may have a right to do it, as *their* way of *free discussion*—but it looks rather like denial of the right to those who ventured to use it in the way thus unusual and unsanctioned by the voice of custom and "the brotherhood." They would have done better to stay decently in—and by their arguments (if they had them) gainsay the contested right.

But what we would say is this. We rejoiced to see one Convention, which acted *freely*. We are glad men dared advance their unpopular notions and discuss them boldly in a place so terrible to untrammeled opinion as a great chapel. We are glad to find one chapel used for some purpose besides that of an echoing room. Now suppose these new notions are all unfounded—we care not. Those who entertain them have *dared to assert them*, fearless of the Popery, that tyrannizes over the soul of the country, and that hydra "the brotherhood." This *assertion* will do more for the cause of truth, than all the doctors have done since the days of Queen Mary. The new opinions are of course all *extravagant* and *ultra*, and will *by and by die away*.—*This of course*. Let them *so* die away. Their advocates attempt to propagate them in no other way than by free discussion, and they draw from the Bible. They do not use the sword of Mahomet, or the halter and guillotine of the French revolution, or the more tyrannical and contemptible scowls and sneers of "the brotherhood." They offer to stand or fall in fair, open, calm reasoning, and if their adversaries can't afford to meet them in that way, it is a sign to us, that they do not think them so *ultra* as they pretend. The non-resistance question, the no-government question, the woman question, and the nigger question—let them all be discussed in fairness and honor, and we will risk all the consequences, though it may make some of the "craftsmen" sweat. These questions make no part of the anti-slavery society doctrines. Genuine abolitionists will of course differ upon them,—but they cannot differ as to this, the perfect right of all to think freely and discuss boldly, each of these and all other questions. To be in an error is of no importance in evil, compared with the Popish notion of discountenancing discussion.

The "Advocate of Peace" speaks of "the strange and startling notions put forth by this new Society for "universal reformation." We don't like this way of speaking. It has been practiced toward the advocates of peace by the war men. The *notion* of universal peace—of the unlawfulness of *defensive* war, was a very *strange* one, and is still a very *startling* one, with many, a professed christian among our "brotherhood." We don't like this Areopagitish, Athenian mode of disposing of principles and sentiments, by denominating them "this new doctrine"—and "certain strange things." Let men discuss freely, publicly and impartially—and God speed the truth, *new* or old, *strange* or familiar. Nothing can stand it, if it a'nt *true*.

And we here say once for all, of all the *new* and *strange* notions of our giant hearted brother Garrison—let those who disbelieve them, assault them as he advances them, with the battle axe of discussion, and if they are not proof, beat them down to the ground.

"The editor of the Nigger Herald ['C.']"—as the Patriot-man, in his effort to be witty, calls our paper—does in truth and in fact mean to deny what he so explicitly denied in his last paper, that there was the shadow of trickery on the part of the Board of Managers, or, as he believes, on the part of any member of the Board, with reference to the answers returned by Gov. Hill and Gen. Wilson. These answers were returned to the late John Farmer, Corresponding Secretary of the State Anti-Slavery Society; by him copied for the press, and delivered to the editor of the Herald, who retained Gov. Hill's in his possession until the receipt of Gen. Wilson's, which, owing to the General's abscence from the State, was not received until some three or four weeks after that of the Governor's. Both answers were immediately published in the Herald, accompanied by the remarks of the editor, the late Joseph H. Kimball. And if the editor of the Patriot will take the trouble to read and consider what was then and there said in relation to these answers, he must be surprisingly obtuse not to understand and be satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt, that the answer of Gen. Wilson was very far from being "shaped" to suit the views of the Herald, or of abolitionists in general. Some even were of the opinion that it was no better than Gov. Hill's. The object of the Board was to ascertain the views and opinions respectively entertained by the gubernatorial candidates in relation to slavery and its attendant evils, in order that abolitionists in giving their votes might act understandingly. We say 'Board of Managers,' because in this body are vested all the powers of the society to be exercised in the recess. We know of no "Committee," about which the Patriot talks, authorized to transact the business of the Society.—With political "Central Committees" of whigs or anti-whigs, we abolitionists have no affinity. We are too well acquainted with their *management* to trust them.

C.

The Christian Witness.—We can assure our estimable friend of the Witness, that our little Herald is duly deposited in the post-office here, and we doubt not takes a regular start every Saturday morning for Pittsburgh, where it would arrive in due time unless some one of Uncle Sam's agents by negligence or otherwise arrest its progress. We regret that this should be the case. If any one having the care of a post-office through which our humble periodical passes, has a desire to read it, or that his friends should read it—he has only to make known his wishes in this behalf, and we will immediately accommodate him with a copy.

C.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Friend Rogers—I noticed a letter in Zion's Watchman, copied from the Maine Wesleyan Journal, from Rev. E. B. Fletcher, of Plymouth, stating that the Methodist influence there has seriously suffered by the headstrong and headlong manner of diving into the subject of emancipation. Now as I have no means of seeing him myself, I want you to tell him through the columns of your paper, that what he has published about the abolitionists here in Plymouth is not true, for we are not headstrong nor headlong. We only ask for liberty for ourselves and our neighbors, and as we enjoy freedom, we wish our neighbor to enjoy it also, if he is a little darker complect than we are. But brother Cox of the Journal will wish to know what has hurt Methodist influence, if the measures of the abolitionists have not. Tell him that in this place it is the bitter and wicked spirit manifested by the pro-slavery part of the Methodist church that has so much injured its influence. Some wont go to hear an abolitionist preach on any subject; some wont help support him; some have withdrawn from the church; and for what? why, because slavery is a great sin, and it is in our land, and in the church, and the most pious and devoted have foreseen that the church must be holy, or not please God, and they have begun to talk about trying to get rid of this great sin, and frequently prayed to God to give light upon the subject, to break the bands of wickedness, to let the oppressed go free, and to deliver this nation from the sin of slavery. And the hypocrite, the lukewarm professor, and the niggardly, covetous professor who is always seeking some excuse for not aiding in the support of the gospel, have in some small degree withdrawn their support from the Methodist abolition preachers. Therefore, when professed ministers of the gospel, who care more for a few loaves and fishes, than they do for three or four millions of their fellow creatures in bondage, are added to the three last mentioned classes, and then the inference drawn and published to the world, that the Methodist influence in this place has suffered by the headstrong and headlong measures of the abolitionists, I again assert that it is not true.

One more instance where the Methodist influence has suffered in this place, and not by the abolitionists. It will be recollected that in the year 1837, this town made choice of a Methodist local preacher to represent them in the general court. It will also be recollected that a petition was handed him, signed by some sixty of the legal voters of the town, praying the legislature to instruct our senators and request our representatives in Congress to use their exertions to have slavery abolished, wherever the Constitution would sanction it—to prevent any new states from admission into the Union with power to hold slaves, and to prohibit the traffic in human flesh in any way between these United States. One third of the petitioners were members of the Methodist church; one third members of the Congregational church; and part of the residue members of the Baptist church; but to the great dissatisfaction of the whole, their prayers were fraudulently or otherwise kept back. Now I would ask every candid reader to reflect, as he reads, and if this circumstance alone will not convince every candid mind that the loss of Methodist influence cannot be attributed to the abolitionists in this place, their eyes must be wilfully closed against the light. What! a Methodist preacher, who has taken the solemn oath of God upon him, to preach the gospel—to remember those in bonds as bound with them—to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free—to pray for all men—and yet be guilty of pocketing up and keeping in oblivion the prayers of sixty of his christian brethren, because they prayed that something might be done to alleviate the greatest distress imaginable, which is now experienced by millions of poor negroes in this christian land; and then because the church does not prosper and religion flourish with such men at her head, publish to the world that the abolitionists are the cause of it, I believe I shall take the liberty to say again that it is not true.

Again I should not be surprised if Methodist influence should suffer by the Rev. E. B. Fletcher's letter, for certain it is that the abolition members of the Methodist church, which number considerably more than half the church in Plymouth and vicinity, do feel very much aggrieved by this ungenerous and uncalled-for attack upon their christian characters, for headstrong or headlong as we are, we ask nothing more than the gospel asks in a christian point of view, and in a political point nothing more than the constitution will sanction,—and had it not been that the Rev. E. B. Fletcher had signed brother Cox's pacification or peace measures just before his transfer to the New-Hampshire Conference, the course he has taken might have caused some agitation in the minds of some of his brethren.

AN ABOLITIONIST.

[The foregoing is from the pen of a straight forward anti-slavery Methodist—a plain farmer, who can think a great deal easier, than he thinks he can write,—who thinks clear and writes clear. We want our farmer brethren to give us more of their contributions. We think of farmers' ideas as we do of their labor,—the more men have to do with the ground, in this world's matters, the better their profession, and the better their ideas.—*Ed. Herald*]

For the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Editor,—I started on Tuesday, Sept. 11, from Sanbornton Bridge for the County Convention at Keene, and drove 45 or 50 miles over a hard, hilly road to Stoddard, and put up. Soon after, I was taken ill with chills and sickness at stomach, and went supperless to bed. After vomiting freely, I fell into a sweat for several hours, and feeling some better in the morning, and it looking likely for rain soon, I started without breakfast, having 15 miles to ride. I reached Keene, after riding in the rain an hour and a half. Soon the delegates began to come in. I went over to the town house, and though much unwell, felt cheered to see the intelligent yeomanry, the bone and muscle, as well as merchants, mechanics, doctors, lawyers, and ministers, gathering from a score of miles distant, through rain and mud, to plead, and pray, and *act*, for the freedom of the slave. I was told that the editor of the Sentinel with evident surprise exclaimed, "How they do pour in." "They look like intelligent men, as though they knew what they were about!" He was right, (pity he was not always so.)

They met, organized, and voted that all in favor of immediate emancipation on the soil, be invited to give in their names, and act as members of the Convention. Then came the tug of war. Friends that *pulled backward*, aided us all day, and in the evening withheld not their hand. Perhaps some one may yet gather up, and report the discussions for your paper. I found a noble home with Mr. Gerould, a noble friend of the cause. I left on my return about noon the next day, and reached Hill's Bridge. I found it a rendezvous for the intemperate and profane, night before muster. Being again very unwell, I felt heartsick if not homesick, in such a place. Without supper I again slept, and without breakfast I again started for Concord and home.

Being disappointed in a place to lecture, I spent the sabbath at Northfield, and gave a missionary address for Br. Hazleton, and raised $7. On Monday, in company with him, I rode to Boscawen to a meeting of the County Society, which was interesting and profitable, though not so fully attended as desirable.

Tuesday eve, I lectured in Boscawen. A temperance meeting preceded it. The academy was well filled, and the people deeply attentive. At the close I took up a subscription of about $20.

On Friday I started for Nashua. I lectured to a large audience, (800 or 900 people,) in the Congregational meeting house; on Monday eve at the First Baptist house, and Tuesday eve again at the Congregational house; at the close of which we took a subscription of $95, and obtained several subscribers for the Herald of Freedom. The cause is working well there. If the friends do and feel as nobly every where, slavery will soon die. I felt sorry that the Methodist house could not be had, and that the Unitarian house was refused. I trust both will yet repent and bring forth fruits accordingly.

Yours for the slave,

D. I. ROBINSON.

Indiana State Anti-Slavery Convention.

Pursuant to a call of sundry citizens of Indiana, made through the Philanthropist, the delegates from local anti-slavery societies, and the friends of the cause of human rights convened Sept. 12, 1838, at Milton, Wayne county. The Convention was called to order, and organized by the appointment of Col. James Morrow, President, and Edwin Fussell and James McCoy, Secretaries.

A Declaration of Sentiments, according generally with the Declaration of the American A. S. Society, was after considerable discussion adopted with great unanimity.

It was then resolved, that it is expedient for this Convention to organize an Anti-Slavery Society for the State of Indiana. Whereupon the following preamble and constitution were reported, and having been fully discussed, article by article, were unanimously adopted.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas our national existence is based upon the inalienable rights of man as set forth in our Declaration of Independence, a copy of which we have published to the world as our belief of the principles of universal liberty and equality of rights; and whereas, notwithstanding this public declaration of our sentiments, we stand convicted before the world of holding one sixth of our whole population in a most abject and cruel bondage by a system of slavery which is opposed to the laws of God and the best interests of man, which is corrupting the fountains of our prosperity and threatening the peace of the nation; and whereas our political relations are such that this foul stain upon the character of the nation can be removed only by the concentrated force of a correct public sentiment, and believing that it is practicable by appeals to the hearts and consciences of men to awaken public feeling against this horrid system, as to cause its speedy abolition, and that it is a debt we owe to the oppressed, to our fellow citizens who hold slaves, to our country and to God, to use all we can lawfully to bring this system to a peaceful end,—we, therefore, in reliance on Divine aid, identify ourselves with the anti-slavery cause, and for our more effective action, form ourselves into a Society under the following Constitution;

We select the following articles from the Constitution, showing the objects and aim of the Society.

Art. 2. The object of this Society shall be to promote the great objects of the American Anti-Slavery in the state of Indiana; by the dissemination of knowledge respecting the evils of slavery, and the duty and safety of immediate emancipation, so that the voice of the state may be heard from her representatives, from the people and the press, in claiming the inalienable rights of all men without respect of color, "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Art. 3. This Society shall aim to elevate the character of our colored population, by promoting their moral and intellectual improvement and by endeavoring to remove the prejudice that has kept the free men of color from a participation in the rights and privileges of citizens; but we will not countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by a resort to physical force.

The following resolutions among others were adopted.

Resolved, That *American slavery* is the vilest beneath the sun; its tendencies are not only to crush the bodies, but to destroy the souls of its victims; it is a heinous sin against God and man;—a foul blot on our national escutcheon, and ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned; and we pledge ourselves, as men, as christians,

its patriots, to use all consistent measures in our power for its abolition.

Resolved, That we unhesitatingly pronounce the slavery of this country to be in the broadest sense of the phrase, *American slavery*—a *national crime;* because it exists and is protected in the national domain, and in the territory of Florida, by the consent and approbation of the national legislature;—because the Constitution of the United States obliges the whole American people to co-operate with the slaveholder in retaining his hold upon the victims of his avarice and cruelty, by delivering up the unhappy fugitives from bondage who flee to us for protection;—because the support of a standing army for the security of slavery, and the expenditure of $15,000,000, and a great waste of human blood, in waging a cruel and treacherous war with the Indians in Florida to recover fugitive slaves, and deprive them of a place of refuge, is sanctioned by the American people; and because that atrocious, that execrable villainy, the domestic slave trade is tacitly sustained by the Congress of the United States.

Resolved, That the spirit of slavery is not confined to any section of our country—that it affects the North as well as the South—tends to crush the northern laborer as well as the southern slave—and that it knows no limits in color, but the extent of its own irresponsible might. Facts tend to show us plainly that slaveholders desire, and aim at, the extension of slavery over our whole country; as philanthropists and lovers of our own liberties, we are imperatively bound to use every *right* measure, until every fetter shall be broken, and the "slave shall be a man."

Resolved, That the late acting out of our principles in the British West Indies, is the commencement of a glorious victory, and urges us on with the fullest assurance of faith to the final consummation. That it is practical *proof* that our principles and measures, are safe, practicable and right—demonstration clear as sun-light, that good and good only is the result of doing right—full of arguments standing up in all the incontrovertible majesty of *facts*, proving that the truth is mighty and will prevail—and casting a withering and scorching light on all the apologists for slavery, and opposers of human liberty.

Resolved, That if *immediate* emancipation in the West Indies was safe, and "has resulted in the general good of all parties concerned," where there was but one white to fifteen slaves, it would therefore be safe and practicable in the United States, where there are six whites to one slave.

Resolved, That we have never been able to discover any more reason why *Africa* is the 'native country' of *colored* Americans, than why Europe is the 'native country' of *white* Americans; and that, therefore, those who plead this as an excuse for expatriation are guilty of respect of persons, and cruel hatred on account of complexion, which is a high-handed and an aggravated sin against God.

Resolved, That we recommend to all abolitionists to abstain as far as possible from the proceeds of unrequited labor—the price of human blood—that thereby they will more fully show their devotion to the cause, and their attachment to abolition from the love of principle.

Resolved, That as there is much want of correct information on the subject of human rights in this state, we therefore recommend the establishing anti-slavery libraries, for gratuitous circulation, as a cheap and sure way of affording a correct knowledge of the whole subject.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to draft, publish and distribute throughout the state, a petition to the state legislature, for the passage of a law making each county responsible for all damages done by mobs in their limits.

James Morrow of Jefferson county, was appointed President; James McCoy of Decatur county, Recording Secretary, and John Clarke of Dearborn county, Corresponding Secretary.

From the Connecticut Charter Oak.

AMERICAN LIBERTIES AND AMERICAN SLAVERY—*Morally and Politically Illustrated—by S. B. Treadwell, Rochester, New-York.—Published by John S. Taylor, New-York*, 1838.

This is a handsome volume of 466 pages. We have given it an examination, somewhat hastily, but sufficient to enable us to say that it is a very useful publication, and we can recommend it to any one desirous to ascertain the character and tendencies of American slavery, and the general views of the advocates of immediate emancipation.

The writer has divided the subject into forty sections. Each section is devoted to the examination of some particular *objection* to the discussion of slavery at the North; "in doing which," the author says, "the Constitutional principles of our own free institutions and the fundamental truths of all just government, are attempted impartially to be illustrated." We think he has succeeded well in meeting these forty objections.—Some of them it is true, are very unimportant, and hardly worthy of serious attention. Still there is not one of them we have not heard urged in one way or another, and it was well therefore to give them all a passing notice.

Much industry is evinced in the collection of facts and arguments, and it is manifest that the author has not only thought much on the subject, but that he is acquainted with most that has been written and said in relation to it.

We have no room for a particular notice of the various parts of the work, nor for extracts. One fact is mentioned however, which we cannot omit to notice, as it furnishes of itself a sufficient answer to the question, "What has the North to do with slavery?" viz:—

"At the late admission of Arkansas into the Union with its bloody constitution, that slavery never should be abolished within its bounds, *sixty-three* northern votes are recorded in its favor, and only *fifty-three* against it; so that the North, (or free states,) of itself, independent of the South, would have given it admission into the Union as a slave state, and that too, with this most extraordinary constitution, with a majority of *ten votes*."—Page 98.

A critical notice of the work might, perhaps detect some defects; but as a whole we think it calculated to do much good, and we shall rejoice to see it extensively circulated.

We have not seen the above work, but it is highly spoken of by those who have had an opportunity of perusing it. In a notice of it by one who has attentively examined the work, it is said, that "Mr. Treadwell meets the question [of slavery] in almost every conceivable point of view, and answers the many questions hitherto brought against its discussion. He takes up forty objections which have been raised, and more or less urged to prevent the investigation of the subject, and devotes as many chapters for their examination and refutation. To those who desire to understand the subject of American slavery in all its bearings, we recommend the perusal of this work." c.

The Georgia Post Office.

We take the following from the Vermont Watchman. The comments of the editor of that paper upon the very extraordinary letter of the Georgia post master renders it wholly unnecessary to add another word. c.

West Point, Geo. 17th Sept. 1838.

P. O.

The enclosed is sent back to your office, as no *abolition paper* is delivered from this office. The Statutes of this State make it a high penal offence. You will return the enclosed to its original address with instructions to send no more to this office. We are capable of managing our own slaves, without the intermeddling of northern abolitionists. THE POST MASTER.

The foregoing epistle directed to our address, was received a few days ago. Enclosed was a copy of our paper, which had been mailed by a lady of this vicinity and directed to her husband, now residing at the South. To the very positive order of "the postmaster" we have to say, that we shall take the liberty of disregarding it entirely: if the postmaster wishes to give any instructions to the individual in question, let him do his own work. We do not choose to be the instruments to aid in any attempt to abridge the rights of a citizen of Vermont. We have yet to learn that a deputy postmaster has any authority to dictate to any citizen what newspapers he shall or shall not send through the mail, or to designate either the person to whom or the place to which papers may be sent. The postmaster of West Point is an agent of the general government—responsible to it, and under oath to be faithful to it—and with him, as postmaster, the legislature of Georgia has no more to do than has the Queen of England. That legislature can give him no such authority as he seems to claim; and if, as is probably true, this postmaster is acting in pursuance of any legislative act of his own state, making it "a high penal offence" to deliver abolition papers, or papers supposed to be of that stamp, it seems to us that a matter is presented of high import, to which the attention of Congress and the country should be speedily called. Has the state of Georgia constitutional authority to prescribe the duties of officers of the general government? If it may direct postmasters, it may equally prescribe the duties of U. S. judges, marshals, &c. and the whole host of officers of the army and navy! But, to confine the matter to the case in hand: if Georgia can require postmasters to withhold abolition newspapers, why may it not extend the prohibition to *letters;* and to facilitate the business, require them to *open and examine all letters*, in order to see whether they come within the proscribed list? This will never do:—the legislature of Georgia may make whatever enactments please them, to regulate the affairs of the citizens of Georgia, as such; but that legislature must not be permitted to order the duties of officers of the general government, or to interfere with the rights and privileges of citizens of other states. The mails are open to all, legally; and we deny the right of Georgia to interfere with the mails. The *liberty of the press* is guarantied by the constitution of the United States; and we protest against the right of Georgia to violate that constitution with impunity, by endeavoring to abridge the liberty of the northern presses of any or every class. On this subject, every press, every freeman should speak, and the matter should be pressed home upon Congress.—We would not force the people of Georgia to read our paper, or any other paper—let them burn it, if they please; but let the constitutional rights of all be sacredly regarded.

From the Philanthropist.

A Citizen of the State of Ohio, Delivered up as a Fugitive from Justice, to be tried by Kentucky Laws.

A circumstance has quite recently occurred in this state, which is well calculated to make every man, unwilling to bow the knee to slavery, tremble for his liberty. On Monday, the 17th of September, John B. Mahan, a respectable citizen of Sardinia, Brown county, a local minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, was arrested by an order of the governor of this state, and delivered over to the Executive of Kentucky, as a FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE.

The case, so far as we have been able to ascertain the facts, is one of aggravated injustice and cruelty.

Two indictments are said to have been found against him in the Kentucky courts, charging him with having kidnapped and induced slaves to leave their masters, within the limits of that state.

Mr. Mahan is an abolitionist, and his zeal as such has rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to slaveholders. Highly respected by the community in which he lived, even his enemies do not believe him guilty of the acts charged upon him. "Mr. M." says the Georgetown Examiner, (a whig paper, opposed to him in politics, and untinctured with abolitionism,) "is known here as a strenuous abolitionist, yet, we presume, there are but few who believe the story of his having ventured to carry the war into Kentucky." It will be perceived, that, according to our correspondent, a Kentucky grand jury designate him as John Mahan, "LATE OF MASON COUNTY, KENTUCKY;" when the fact is well known to hundreds, probably thousands in Ohio, that he is an old resident in this state. We are informed by Senator Morris that he has known him as a citizen of Ohio, since the time he was a boy. We have just conversed with two gentlemen from the neighborhood where the transaction took place. They say that the excitement produced by it is intense; the people are both alarmed and irritated. They tell us that on the very days on which, in the indictments, Mr. Mahan is charged with having committed the acts referred to, he was at home attending to his business,—a fact to which several persons in Sardinia were willing to testify.

After making all due allowances for the exaggerated and loose character of reports, springing naturally from excitement and alarm, we cannot overcome our impression that Mr. Mahan is the victim of perjury.

* * * * *

We do not claim that any law should be violated, but we do claim that the administrator of the laws ought not to act, blindfolded, without intelligence, without discretion. Surely, in times like the present, when so much exasperation is manifested in slave states against abolitionists; when a Senator in the United States Congress can declare in his place, unrebuked, that no government on earth, not even the government of these United States should save an abolitionist from the gallows, if caught within the limits of his state; when so many efforts have been made by slaveholding executives to get these persecuted men within their power; when confessedly there are so few chances that justice would be done them before a slaveholding tribunal, or being acquitted there, that they would be secured against the fangs of a bloody mob,—surely, it would not have been a violation of official duty, if Gov. Vance had proceeded with a little caution, some degree of hesitancy, before abandoning a citizen of Ohio, a husband and a father, to the hands of his sworn enemies—for that he is now entirely in the power of those who hate him, we presume every citizen of Brown county will testify.

We do not say that such was not the conduct of our Executive; but the presumptions are against him. That the people of Ohio will be satisfied with any thing less than a full and correct exposition of the whole of of this fearful case, is not to be expected. It concerns every person among us too nearly, to be passed over as an ordinary act of executive power. Let us have the whole truth. Let us know by what tenure we, individually hold our liberties. One of the pleas of our fathers for their rebellion against the British king, was, that he had combined with others to subject them to a jurisdiction foreign to their constitution, unacknowledged by their laws, that he had transported them beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences. Let us, the people of Ohio, know, whether we are to be subjected to like grievances; whether, by the irresponsible authority of a governor, a mayor, or a petty justice of the peace, the husband, the father, the mother, the wife, the son, the daughter, may at any moment, on the oath of a perjured villain in any other state, be torn from home, torn from friends, from the free soil of Ohio, the protection of its laws, and cast into a slaveholding jail, to be arraigned before a slaveholding tribunal, tried by slaveholding laws.

If such be the fact, we call on the citizens of Ohio, to awake—they are slaves, and their liberties and lives are at the mercy of fraud, violence, and perjury.

STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

BY THE GOVERNOR,

A Proclamation for a day of Public Thanksgiving, Prayer, and Praise.

THURSDAY, THE TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF NOVEMBER NEXT has been appointed a day of Public Thanksgiving in this State. On that day let the People praise ALMIGHTY GOD, yea let all the People praise Him for his goodness to the children of men and to all the works of his creation. Let His name be praised, that during the past season the genial influence of His sun and rain has crowned the efforts of the husbandman with abundance of sustenance for man and beast; that the voice of health has been heard within our borders, and that no prevalent sickness has swept off any unusual number of the beings bearing the divine impress; that peace with all the world and domestic quiet within our own borders have been preserved; that the prospect has returned of great prosperity in the various branches of secular business; that our free institutions and excellent forms of government have been continued to us; that our literary institutions, academies and schools continue to impart that high degree of knowledge which renders an enlightened public opinion the best foundation of civil government and for social enjoyment. Above all, let His Name be praised, that He has given us HIS SON, who is the Way, the Truth and the Light, and whose blessed Gospel is to this free country not only the foundation of all earthly good, of the blessings of free government and of the best enjoyment of all our domestic relations, but the Rock on which rests all our hopes in a future state.

And while we praise the Almighty for the numerous blessings which he has bestowed for the past year, let us pray that He would continue to smile upon us in all future time, and fit us for an easy and happy transition from this world to a world beyond the grave.

It is respectfully recommended to all such people as are disposed on this day of Thanksgiving to meet in their several places of religious worship; and that none who neglect this, should otherwise observe it by such an indulgence of their appetites or other abuse of the blessings which the Almighty has showered upon them, as shall be cause for regret and repentance.

Given at the Council Chamber in Concord this first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the sixty-third.

ISAAC HILL.

By his Excellency's command }
with advice of Council }
JOSIAH STEVENS, Jr., *Secretary of State.*

CHAPTER OF NEWS.

From the Key West Floridian of Sept. 15.

Melancholy Shipwreck and loss of Lives.—We have the unpleasant task assigned us of relating some of the circumstances of one of the most severe gales that ever took place on our coast. We give the particulars as far as our information extends. No doubt there has been many vessels which have experienced a similar fate, the news of which we will not be in possession of for some time.

On the 7th inst. a severe gale was experienced off Cape Florida. The French brig Courier de Tampico, Jue Juliae, from Havanna, bound to Bordeaux, with a cargo of sugar, cigars, &c. was driven ashore in the night of 7th about 12 miles north of Cape Florida Light—only seven out of sixteen souls saved—brig and cargo totally lost.—The survivors rescued from the devouring ocean were soon visited by a large party of armed Indians, who spared their lives because they were Frenchmen saying that they killed only Americans.

Brig Alma, (of Portland) Thomas, from St. Jago, (last from Mansanillo for Boston, with mahogany,) went ashore about the same time, and near the same place. *Every man on board except one Dutchman, were massacred by the Indians!!* He was spared at the time of the general slaughter and subsequently hid himself in the hold of the ship. During all one day and night the Indians kept up a horrible *powwow;* aboard the brig there were about 50 in number. The next day the Indians left the brig for a short time, when the poor man crept out from his hiding place, discovered and hailed the wrecking sloops America and Mount Vernon, and by them was taken off, the Indians again appearing in sight after he had left the brig. The Indians will wreck the brig.

The brig Export and "ship Thracian," went ashore at the same time, nearly off Cæsar's Creek. The master and crew of the brig have arrived at this place, in the wrecking sloop Globe.

The sloop Globe and Smack Splendid have saved about three hundred boxes of sugar from the brig.

The little village of Mystic has suffered severely in this gale; and many a mother's heart when she reads the above account, will be wrung with anguish. May God temper the wind to the shorn lamb.

Schooner Caledonia, from Havanna to New-Orleans with sugar, coffee and cigars, was totally lost on the Coloradoes, on or about the 8th Sept. Fate of the crew unknown.

The sloops Alabama, Dread and Caution of Mystic bound to this port, drove ashore and lost in the same gale. They went ashore near the French brig Courier. The only survivor yet ascertained is Joseph Noble who escaped from the Indians and joined the French crew. When the Indians came up with the French crew he passed himself off as one of their number and thus saved his life. Noble has arrived at this place and gives the names of the persons on board the sloops, all of whom are doubtless lost except himself.

Union of the British Provinces.—It seems to be in contemplation by the British authorities to unite the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New-Brunswick, Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland, into a federal Union, each province retaining its own local legislature. The governor general to have a veto on bills passed by the general assembly, and the provincial or deputy governors to have like power with respect to bills passed by the provincial assemblies.

Tapering off.—The Cincinnati News, speaking of Dr. Duncan, says it is a joke to presume he will be re-elected to Congress by a thousand majority; a great joke to suppose he will receive a majority of five hundred, and a greater joke to suppose he will be re-elected at all. This is tapering off with a vengeance.

In packing grain, if a few of the young branches of the common elder are scattered between every layer of the bundles, the rats will not touch it. So it is said.

Hindoo Widows.—We are glad to see that the Hindoos are stirring themselves to obtain permission for their widows to re-marry. It is a question of their law, and one which consequently cannot be interfered with by our government, unless they can show that the present prohibition is not an essential part of the Hindoo system. Certainly, if in any country such a prohibition is absurd, it is here, where Hindoo females are frequently married at two years of age; so that the ordinary chances of life must expose them to ten times the widowhood of persons marrying at maturity. A child who has been thus pledged, and whose husband may have died before she left her nurse's arms, is thus sacrificed to an absurd prejudice, which the Hindoos are beginning to be ashamed of.—Till they consent to place their women on a perfect equality with the other sex, they may depend upon it, that they never will rank with civilized nations.—*Bombay Gaz.*

Census of Florida.—The enumeration of the inhabitants of Florida has just been completed. Returns have been sent in from all the counties but five. The whole population is estimated at 48,831 souls, of which 25,173 are whites, and 23,658 blacks. The Baltimore Republican says:

"Three fifths of the slave population, being 14,259, give, according to the constitution, a representation of 39,368. It is required that there should be a population of 47,700 to admit the territory into the Union as a state. But it is contended, that under the treaty of cession, the old ratio of 30,000 was guarantied as the required amount of population for admission. Under this view, a convention is about to be held, and a state constitution formed. Some difficulty may be anticipated when the subject comes before the next session of Congress.

It is stated that a strong infusion of tobacco taken into the stomach, will counteract the effects of arsenic. If a strong infusion of arsenic will counteract the effects of tobacco, it is decidedly the best medicine of the two.—*B. Times.*

The amount of money taken in London from drunken persons, and restored to them when they became sober, was $40,000 in 1836, and $44,000 in 1837.

The amount taken from them and *not returned* to them, might be set down at several hundred thousand; and the amount taken from them for which they were given *poison* in return, a million more.

The "Striped Pig."—As this term may be frequently used in reference to the "destructionists," or anti-temperance party, and as some of our readers may not know its origin, we give it in a few words.

At the late muster in Dedham, a man pretended to exhibit a striped pig, at six cents a sight. Whether he had to get a license for this, or permission, we do not know. Upon admittance, the visitor found a counter spread with decanters, containing every variety of liquor, from which he was invited to help himself. It was a successful artifice to evade the license law.

It has been seriously proposed, to denominate that portion of the community who are doing their best, by fair means and foul means, for the continuation of the rum traffic, the "*Striped Pig Party.*"—*Z. Herald.*

The bridge over the James River at Richmond for the use of the Richmond and Petersburgh railroad is 1000 yards long, rests upon nineteen stone piers, the arches having a space of 150 feet, and the floor is sixty feet above the water—it cost $110,000.

Mirabeau B. Lamar has been elected President of Texas, to succeed Gen. Houston, whose term of service expires in December next. Burnet, Vice President.

From the National Banner, a Texan paper, under date of Sept. 21, it appears, that a most decided feeling of hostility towards the government and people manifests itself among the Indian tribes on the western and north-western frontier. Captain Love, the brother of colonel Love, who, together with some fifteen others, left San Antonio a few months since, for the purpose of trading with the Cumanches, and for whose safety fears had been entertained, has fallen a victim to the bad faith of those among whom he had gone with a view to traffic. The *scalps* and clothes of the party were carried to Precideo by certain Cumanche Indians, as evidence of the zeal and fidelity with which they were prepared to execute their bond of blood to the Mexican government. The Lipans are said to be now on the Rio Grande, holding direct intercourse with Mexico, of a nature similar to that which, it is believed, her secret emissaries and agents have for some time past been keeping up with the tribes along the whole extent of the Indian border. Serious commotions from the treachery of these savages, are looked for daily.

HYMENEAL.

Married, in this town, on Tuesday last, by Rev. E. E. Cummings, Mr. Joshua Parker, to Miss Dorcas F. Whitney, both of Canterbury.

In Gilmanton, Mr. Moses O. Seavey of this town, to Miss Sarah M. Bunker, of G.

In this town, Mr. Sylvanus Russell, of Peterboro' to Miss Lucretia A. Gleason, of Concord.

OBITUARY.

Died, in this town on Sunday last, Mr. Ebenezer LeBosquet, aged 66.

In Franklin on Saturday, the 6th inst. Mr. Joseph Burley, Esq. in the 88th year of his age.

In Dracut, Ms. 26th ult. Mr. Bradstreet Coburn, a revolutionary soldier, 80. He received several wounds while a soldier and was in many of the hottest battles of the revolution.

In Newburyport, Mass. 2d inst. Hon. Jeremiah Nelson, formerly a representative in Congress from Essex North, 60.

In Edgartown, Mass. about 1st inst. very suddenly, Cornelius Marchant, Esq. 75.

NOTICE.

The subscriber will visit, with leave of Divine providence, the following places, on the business of his agency. Will the friends see to giving out the notices, seasonably, at such *house* and *hour* as best to convene the people, and I will be there in season to attend.

Meredith Village,	Tuesday,	October	16.
Tamworth,	Thursday,	"	18.
Moultonborough,	Saturday,	"	20.
Sandwich,	Sunday,	"	21.
Plymouth,	Tuesday,	"	23.
Campton,	Wednesday,	"	24.
Holderness Village,	Thursday,	"	25.
Haverhill,	Saturday,	"	27.
"	Sunday,	"	28.
Newbury, Vt.	Monday,	"	29.
"	Tuesday,	"	30.
Hebron,	Thursday,	Nov.	1.

Gilmanton, Sunday, Nov. 4. at Clarke's meeting house in the afternoon; in the evening at Gilmanton Corner.

D. I. ROBINSON,
Agent of N. H. A. S. S.

Probate Notice.

THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that she has been duly appointed executrix of the last will and testament of Samuel Huntington, late of Concord in the county of Merrimack, deceased, and has taken upon herself that trust by giving bond to the Judge of Probate for the county of Merrimack as the law directs. She therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the estate of the said Samuel Huntington, to make immediate payment, and those who have any demands against the same to exhibit them for settlement.

HARRIET M. HUNTINGTON.

Concord, Oct. 6, 1838.

ISRAEL S. BOYD

HAS for sale at his Bookstore in Low's Block, Main Street,

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANACKS for 1839, at $3 50 a hundred; 50 cts. a doz., 6 cts. single.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES, by THOME and KIMBALL, in pamphlet form—price 20 cts. single; $2 12 1-2 a doz.

NARRATIVE OF JAMES WILLIAMS, in single sheets. 2 cts. single; 18 cts a dozen; $1 25 a hundred.

ALSO—Other Anti-Slavery publications.

He expects to be constantly supplied with a general assortment of Anti-Slavery works, and to be able to supply all who may call upon him at the Boston and New-York prices.

Concord, Sept. 22, 1838.

POETRY.

It is very seldom that we find an article of poetry so full of excellent philosophy and *common sense*, as the following. We know not who the author may be, but he or she is no common man or woman.—These nine simple verses are worth more than all the dreams of Shelly, and Keats, and Wordsworth.—They are alive and vigorous with the spirit of the day in which we live—the moral steam enginery of an age of action.—*Ed. Penn. Freeman.*

From the N. Y. Knickerbocker.

A Psalm of Life.

Life that shall send
A challenge to its end,
And, when it comes, say, "Welcome *friend*."

WHAT THE HEART OF THE YOUNG MAN SAID TO THE PSALMIST.

Tell me not in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

Life is real—*life is earnest*—
And the grave is not its goal,
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to *act*, that each to-morrow
Find us farther than to-day.

Art is long and time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

Trust *no Future*, howe'er pleasant!
Let the dead Past bury its dead!
Act—act in the glorious Present!
Heart within and God o'er head!

Lives of all great men remind us
We can make *our* lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footsteps on the sands of time.

Footsteps, that, perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

From the Liberator.

The Highlander.

Stern, nursed among his highland hills,
Sequester'd glens, and mountain rills,
With fearless eye and hardy form,
He revels in the winter's storm;
While nature with her music wild,
Inspires her freeborn, darling child,
To earn, upon the fields of fame,
The glory of a deathless name.

Where fiery war's loud thunder's roll,
He breathes the ardor of his soul,
And foremost on the field of death,
Bears from the foe the victor's wreath;
Nor dismid fear nor peril quells
The pride that high his bosom swells,
Far o'er the world to spread the fame
Of his own honored Highland name.

In distant lands, o'er burning soil,
Where fainting nature shrinks from toil,
Onward in honor's bright career,
He presses like the mountain deer,
While science sheds upon his way,
Her richest charms, her purest ray,—
Or out on commerce pleasteous spreads
Their treasures wheresoe'er he treads.

Give me, when other friends depart,
The friend that bears a Highland heart;
Give me when other loves decay,
The breast where Highland feelings play;
True to the last, and fond and free,
Highland love's the love for me,—
Though mists may settle round his hills,
No mist his Highland bosom chills.

MISCELLANY.

Russian and American Slavery.

The instructive and popular author of "Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland," J. H. Stephens, Esq. of New-York, in alluding to the state of society in Russia, and the condition of the serfs or slaves of the Russian nobleman, makes some reflections and presents some facts, which, we trust, will not be lost upon the pro-slavery portion of the reading public. It will be seen by the following extract,—1. That American republican slavery is the scoff and bye-word of Europe. 2. That Americans abroad wither under the rebukes of foreigners on this subject. 3. That the white slaves of Russia are "*no less degraded in intellect, character, and personal bearing*," than the blacks of the South. 4. That in Europe, colored men of intelligence and capacity stand upon a perfect equality with the whites, and hold the rank of officers in armies. 5. That the serfs of Russia cannot be sold like American slaves from their homes and families, but remain fixed to the soil of their birth-place. 6. That emancipation is going on in Russia; and that the despotic Nicholas, by "a liberal and enlightened policy, is diffusing a more general system of amelioration among these subjects of his vast empire." 7. That slave labor in Russia, as well as in most parts of the United States, is less profitable than free labor.

"I had found in Russia many interesting subjects of comparison between that country and my own, but it was with deep humiliation I felt that the most odious feature in that despotic government found a parallel in ours. At this day, with the exception of Russia, some of the West India Islands, and the republic of the United States, every country in the civilized world can respond to the proud boast of the English common law, that the moment a slave sets foot on her soil he is free. I respect the feelings of others and their vested rights, and would be the last to suffer those feelings or those rights to be wantonly violated; but I do not hesitate to say that, abroad, slavery stands as a dark blot upon our national character. There it will not admit of any palliation; it stands in glaring contrast with the spirit of our free institutions; it belies our words and our hearts; and the American who would be most prompt to repel any calumny upon his country withers under this reproach, and writhes with mortification when the taunt is hurled at the otherwise stainless flag of the free republic. I was forcibly struck with a parallel between the white serfs of the north of Europe and African bondsmen at home. The Russian boor, generally wanting the comforts which are supplied to the negro on our best-ordered plantations, appeared to me to be not less degraded in intellect, character, and personal bearing. Indeed, the marks of physical and personal degradation were so strong, that I was insensibly compelled to abandon certain theories not uncommon among our countrymen at home, in regard to the intrinsic superiority of the white race over all others. Perhaps, too, this impression was aided by my having previously met with Africans of intelligence and capacity, standing upon a footing of perfect equality as soldiers and officers in the Greek army and the Sultan's. The serfs of Russia differ from slaves with us in the important particular that they belong to the soil, and cannot be sold except with the estate; they may change masters but cannot be torn from their connexions or their birth place. One sixth of the whole peasantry of Russia, amounting to six or seven millions, belong to the crown, and inhabit the imperial demesne, and pay an annual tax. In particular districts, many have been enfranchised, and become burghers and merchants; and the liberal and enlightened policy of the present emperor is diffusing a more general system of melioration among these subjects of his vast empire. The rest of the serfs belong to the nobles, and are the absolute property and subject to the absolute control of their masters, as much as the cattle on their estates. Some of the seigneurs possess from seventy to more than a hundred thousand; and their wealth depends upon the skill and management with which the labor of these serfs is employed. Sometimes the seigneur sends the most intelligent to Petersburgh or Moscow to learn some handicraft, and then employs them on his own estates, hires them out, or allows them to exercise their trade on their own account on payment of an annual sum. And sometimes, too, he gives the serf a passport, under which he is protected all over Russia, settles in a city, and engages in trade, and very often accumulates enough to ransom himself and his family. Indeed, there are many instances of a serf acquiring a large property, and even rising to eminence. But he is always subject to the control of his master; and I saw at Moscow an old mongik who had acquired a very large fortune, but was still a slave. His master's price for his freedom had advanced with his growing wealth, and the poor serf, unable to bring himself to part with his hard earnings, was then rolling in wealth with a collar round his neck; struggling with the inborn spirit of freedom, and hesitating whether to die a beggar or a slave.

The Russian serf is obliged to work for his master but three days in the week; the other three he may work for himself on a portion of land assigned to him by law on his master's estate. He is never obliged to work on Sunday, and every saint's day or fete day of the church is a holiday. This might be supposed to give him an opportunity of elevating his character and condition; but, wanting the spirit of a free agent, and feeling himself the absolute property of another, he labors grudgingly for his master, and for himself barely enough to supply the rudest necessaries of life and pay his tax to the seigneur. A few rise above their condition, but millions labor like beasts of burden, content with bread to put in their mouths, and never even thinking of freedom. A Russian nobleman told me that he believed, if the serfs were all free, he could cultivate his estate to better advantage by hired labor; and I have no doubt a dozen Connecticut men would cultivate more ground than a hundred Russian serfs, allowing their usual non-working days and holidays. They have no interest in the soil, and the desolate and uncultivated wastes of Russia show the truth of the judicious reflection of Catharine II., "that agriculture can never flourish in that nation where the husbandman possesses no property."

The author above quoted p. 197, thus describes a scene in chivalrous, liberty-loving Poland.

"We had scarcely left the postmaster's daughter, on the threshold of Poland, almost throwing a romance about the Polish women, before I saw the most degrading spectacle I ever beheld in Europe, or even in the barbarous countries of the East. Forty or fifty women were at work in the fields, and a large, well-dressed man, with a pipe in his mouth and a long stick in his hand, was walking among them as overseer. In our country the most common laboring man would revolt at the idea of his wife or daughter working in the open fields. I had seen it, however, in gallant France and beautiful Italy; but I never saw, even in the barbarous countries of the East, so degrading a spectacle as this; and I could have borne it almost any where better than in chivalric Poland."—*Ibid. p.* 197.

Yet the lips of our American traveller would have been sealed at once, had he gallantly remonstrated against this species of of women-driving chivalry. He would have been told of the hundreds of thousands of American women, not merely driven to their daily toil, but sold from their homes, their husbands, fathers, families and children, and driven in chains from plantation to plantation and from state to state, urged on by the democratic advocates of equal rights.—*Penn. Freeman.*

Peril to the Free.

Let laboring men who are willing to become tools for "gentlemen of standing and property," read the following. The same spirit which enslaves and tramples upon the liberty and rights of the black man, would as readily, were he out of its power, brutalize and enslave the poor white man and his posterity.

That slavery is at war with the interests of the laboring classes of community, admits not of a doubt. The whole system is one of despotism, and destructive of the rights and interests of the poor. Let it continue, and our Republic is lost.

American slavery is full of peril to the free laborer in every part of the country; and that it cannot be maintained without a constant war on his political rights and on his personal liberty also. It is the doctrine of the south, that men who "eat their bread in the sweat of their face," should be not only disfranchised, but enslaved also. And this is their doctrine because slavery evidently demands that it shall be, and because the increasing prevalence of this doctrine is indispensable to the safety of slavery.

Mr. Benj. Watkins Leigh's speech in the Virginia Convention, in 1829 shows how the spirit of slaveholding leads its possessor to despise the manual laborer—to seek his disfranchisement and thus to facilitate his subjection to slavery. Says Mr. Leigh in his speech: "There must be some peasantry—and as the country fills up, there must be more;—that is, men who tend the herds and dig the soil, who have neither real or personal capital of their own, and who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. I ask gentlemen to say, whether they believe that those who depend on their daily subsistence, can or do ever enter into political affairs?—They never do, never will, never can."—*Colored American.*

Approaching the Truth.

A late number of the Gospel Witness, a Baptist paper published in New-York, Philadelphia, and Hartford, contains an account from a correspondent, of a lecture upon colonization recently delivered in the latter place by Dr. Skinner, ex-governor of Liberia. Dr. Skinner, in his lecture, declared that by the establishment of the colony, "the foreign slave trade is entirely obliterated for the space of *two hundred miles* of colonial coast."

This the Doctor declares he "knows to be true." Now we think we see in this declaration, though it is far enough from simple verity, evidence of reform among the colonizers. It is an approach to the truth. A few months ago their agents and periodicals very confidently asserted that "the establishment of the colony had broken up the foreign slave-trade for the space of '*five hundred miles*' of the colonial coast. This has been iterated and reiterated in our presence until we began to fancy that the declaimers who made the assertion, themselves believed it. But the overwhelming exposure of the fiction which has been made by the anti-slavery papers has not been without its effect. They have cut down their story *three hundred miles*. So far, well. Let them go on with the good work, paring off their fictions slice after slice, till at length they will be willing to acknowledge, what common sense should have taught them long ago, that the only way to break up the slave-trade is to destroy the slave-market. Though Dr. Skinner may *believe* his assertion true, his credulity is no proof of its correctness. We have the most ample testimony to the contrary. The letters of the present acting Governor of Liberia disprove it. Dr. Thompson, surgeon on board her Britannic Majesty's ship Sappho, in a letter to a friend in Philadelphia, dated August 14, 1838, gives an account of two recent captures of slavers, on board of one of which, says the writer, "I found, I am sorry to say, one poor slave *sold from the American colony, Liberia, or immediately contiguous to it*; at all events he spoke English, and was *sold by an American there*. There were *two of them*, the other died on board from the small pox." But suppose the declaration of Dr. Skinner be true? Does it prove that there are fewer slaves brought from the western coast of Africa now than formerly? No such thing. Gov. Williams of Liberia declares that the slave-trade is on the increase. The same fact was recently asserted in Parliament by Lord Brougham. Colonizationists themselves admit its truth. What has the colony of Liberia, then, done to diminish the slave-trade? Just as much as a stake stuck down in the middle of the Ohio river, will accomplish to check the volume of water which is sweeping down its banks to the ocean. Not a drop of water the less flows on to its destination. The waves part as they meet the opposing obstacle—but their onward course is unimpeded. Liberia is the stake driven down in the middle of that mighty river—the African slave-trade. A porous stake it is—perhaps a worm-eaten one, for some drops of the turbid fluid occasionally find their way through. "I like your simile," says the objector. "We mean to drive down a whole row of stakes—we mean to build a dam across the entire river." Yes—but the waters will find their way over the dam. Dry up the fountain then. Your cobweb theories will not do it. Nothing but the destruction of slavery will.—*Ch. Witness.*

Baptizing by Proxy.

Mr. Lufkin, formerly of Charlestown, Mass. has made to us the following communication of facts. He spent seven months in the State of Georgia, about a year and a half since; and in the course of his residence there he became acquained with a number of slaves who were members of the Calvinist Baptist church, and who informed him that they were baptized in the following manner, by a Baptist minister in Brunswick, Ga. They were led down into the water and dipped by a large athletic slave, while the *minister* stood upon the shore, and said, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen."

Mr. Lufkin was present the day before, when those slaves told their experience.—The minister set with his penknife cutting the pew, while he called the converts, one by one, to come near him and relate what God had done for their souls. They approached side-wise, with their heads bowed as is usual for a slave to approach an overseer at the South, and with their backs partially turned towards the minister, related their experience.

The minister's name is Mackintosh. One Sabbath our informant saw about thirty of his slaves started off in the afternoon towards a place on the canal where they were to work the next day. On the way they came to a number of shantees that had been abandoned by some Irish laborers, and which were then occupied by the hogs, that in great numbers run at large in that country. The hogs were driven out and the slaves driven in to sleep during the night.—Z. *Watch.*

From the Charter Oak.

Decision of the New-Haven East Consociation.

To the Cong. Church and Society in Meriden:

Dear Brethren—We have patiently and prayerfully considered the difficulties between you and your pastor, and have arrived to the following *unanimous* result. While these difficulties are a subject of deep regret to us as friends of Zion, we feel that they ought to lead *you* to serious self-examination; for the Saviour hath said, "It must needs be that offences come, but wo unto that man by whom the offence cometh.

Your difficulties do not seem to have originated with your pastor: they commenced among yourselves. We conceive that your complaint against him arose from the decided stand he was compelled to take after the *disgraceful riot* that occurred here in October last. In the course he then pursued, we feel that he is to be justified. He exercised his right to plead a cause against which the hand of violence had been raised. We consider that he would have been an unfaithful watchman if he had not lifted up his voice in defence of a privilege which is dearer than life itself.

The erroneous principle that lies at the foundation of your difficulties, we discover to be this—an opinion among some that the subject of *slavery* is not proper to be introduced into the pulpit. It is the judgment of this Consociation that a minister is at perfect liberty to introduce into the pulpit all subjects that pertain to the relations which men sustain to each other, and to God. On all these subjects the Bible has abundant instructions, *and ministers must not shun to declare the whole counsel of God, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear.*

Your pastor maintained his neutrality on the subject of slavery as long as we think he consistently could with a sacred regard to the welfare of this place and the interests of eternal truth. Considering the peculiarly trying circumstances in which he was placed, we admire the prudence and wisdom which your pastor exercised. We know not how any one could have conducted better for the interests of this community. We regard your pastor as an able and faithful minister of Christ. He has been useful among you, he may be still. We discover no good reason why he should be dismissed. We do think the *source* of existing difficulties is among the people, and they should strive to remove it.

We conclude with the following declaration of *general principles.*

1. That God has made it the duty of his ministers to expound and apply the principles of the Bible according to their own conscience and discretion, to men in all the relations which they sustain to Himself and to one another.

2. That the harmony of the church, and the interests of religion require that christians tolerate one another in differences of opinion respecting the appropriate measures for the removal of slavery from our country, and respecting all other subjects which are not absolutely fundamental in religion and morals.

3. That to secure this harmony and these interests, all men must be tolerated and protected in the RIGHT OF FREE DISCUSSION, since this is indispensably necessary to purity and prosperity in government and religion.

Test, LEAVERETT GRIGGS,
Scribe of Consociation.

Meriden, March 14, 1838.

'I'll Try Sir.'

'Try' was never conquered.

It is recorded of Dr. Paley, one of the brightest ornaments of the christian church, that while in college, he was inclined to idleness and dissipation. One morning, a rich and dissipated fellow student came into his room with this singular reproof. 'Paley, I have been thinking what a fool you are. *I* have the means of dissipation, and can afford to be idle. *You* are poor and cannot afford it. I should make nothing if I were to apply myself. *You* are capable of rising to eminence,—and impressed with this truth, I have been kept awake during the whole night, and have now come solemnly to admonish you.' The effect of this remarkable admonition was his immediate reformation, and the final result, that he became one of the guiding minds of his own and succeeding ages. He became an acute and powerful reasoner, and christianity found in him one of its ablest defenders. The *reprover* is dead and his name has perished—but that of Paley will live

'To the last period of recorded time.'

This reformation and these results were accomplished, under God, by a resolution deliberately formed and which never for a moment wavered.

Perhaps the eyes of some young men already inclined to dissipation may fall upon these hasty lines,—and will they not be induced to stop a moment and *count the cost* of idleness and vice, and calculate, too, a few of the advantages of industry and untiring perseverance in well-doing? The example of Paley ought never by such individuals to be forgotten—*Watchtower.*

Something Worthy of Notice.

When I was in Berlin I went into the public prison, and visited every part of the establishment. At last I was introduced to a very large hall which was full of children with their books and teachers, and having the appearance of a Prussian school room. 'What,' said I, is it possible that all these children are imprisoned here for crime?' 'O no,' said my conductor, smiling at my simplicity, 'but if a parent is imprisoned for crime, and on that account his children are left destitute of the means of education and are liable to grow up in ignorance and crime, the government has taken them here, and maintained and educated for useful employment.' This was a new idea to me. I know not that it has ever been suggested in the United States; but surely it is the duty of government, as well as its highest interest, when a man is paying the penalties of his crime in a public prison to see that his inoffending children are not left to suffer and inherit their father's vices. Surely it would be better for the child, and *cheaper* as well as better for the State. Let it not be supposed that a man will go to prison for the sake of having his children taken care of, for those who go to prison usually have little regard for their children; if they had, discipline like that of the Berlin prison would soon sicken them of such a bargain.—*Prof. Stowe's Report.*

The Northern Harp.

A NEW Collection of CHURCH MUSIC, by H. E. MOORE, Second Edition, just published and for sale by WHITE & BOYD,
Concord, N. H.

☞ The following among the many recommendations received, are sufficient to attract public attention to the merits of the work.

Recommendations.

From the Handel and Hayden Society of Dartmouth College.

Mr. MOORE: SIR,—At our last meeting, it was voted, that the thanks of this Society be presented to Mr. Moore, for a copy of his late publication, the Northern Harp. It may not be amiss in this connection to remark, that your new work has been examined by the President and many members of this association. All concur in assigning it a prominent station among the numerous collections of Psalmody. Should it be as extensively circulated and used as its merits deserve, there can be no doubt but that it will exert an important influence in elevating the standard of Church Music, and in cultivating and cherishing a refined and delicate taste, capable of appreciating the excellencies of chaste and dignified musical composition. Wishing you success in your laudable endeavors to subserve the interests of the community,

I remain, with great respect, yours, &c.
ISAAC AMES, Sec. Handel Society.
Dart. Coll., March 31, 1838.

From Mr. George Wood, Teacher of Music.

Mr. MOORE: Sir,—I have examined the Northern Harp, and think it has been got up with great taste and judgment, and I have no hesitation in recommending it to the patronage of the musical public. It contains a great number of pieces, original and selected, of rare beauty and excellence, and I have no doubt it will become one of the most popular works of the day.

The Choir in this place have introduced the Harp among various other collections of Church Music, and are highly pleased with the work.

GEO. WOOD.
Haverhill, N. H. Jan. 10, 1838.

From Mr. Lyman Heath, Teacher of Music.

Mr. MOORE: Sir,—I have just examined your new collection of Church Music, entitled, "The Northern Harp," and with pleasure recommend it to the patronage of the musical public. I think it contains the most pleasing variety of tunes which are equally adapted to the Church, the social circle, or the family; and the harmony is chaste, simple and correct. The work contains a great variety of metres, thus obviating the difficulty of adapting tunes to hymns of peculiar metres, and much that is entirely new, selected from the highest source of musical excellence. You have also added a choice selection of anthems and set-pieces, rendering the work one which will be eagerly sought by Choirs and Societies throughout the country. LYMAN HEATH.
Littleton, 1838.

Strengthening PLASTER AND SALVE.

Vast improvement on celebrated Dr. Sweet's.

DR. S. C. HEWETT'S (the Bone Setter, Boston, Mass.) celebrated STRENGTHENING PLASTER. Dr. H. having been interrupted in his professional pursuits by the constant call for the Plaster, has been obliged to offer it for sale. It is recommended to be applied to the following cases, viz:—For pains and weakness in the back, stomach, sides and loins, rheumatism, and the effects of mercury, corns, and the effects and consequences of sprains, dislocations and fractures, and in many cases of felons and ulcerated sores, for cleansing and healing them, and in fact, all weaknesses.

Dr. H. does not advertise this Medicine to spong the public, but because it is a valuable Salve, calculated to relieve human suffering. As Dr. H. was a pupil of the late Dr. Job Sweet, he has the advantage of all Dr. S.'s skill, in addition of what he has himself acquired in the course of twelve years of extensive and continued practice. This Plaster he considers a great improvement on any hitherto offered for sale for the complaints above specified.

Dr. H. will also prepare medicines (which will shortly be offered for sale) that are certain cures for the tic doloreux or neuralgia, and for the hemorrhoids or Piles.

For sale, wholesale, by Maynard & Noyes, Druggists, No. 11, Merchant's Row, Boston, General Agents. Sold also, wholesale and retail, by Charles Whipple, Bookseller, No. 2, State street, Newburyport, Agent for the county of Essex, and for the State of New-Hampshire. For sale at this Office.
July 21, 1838. 21—6mo

To the Public.

THE subscriber considers it due to Dr. S. C. Hewett, (as an act of gratitude, and to his fellow citizens, from impulse of humanity) to describe briefly, the condition of body, out of which he has been rescued by the skill and practice of the Doctor.

Before applying to Dr. H. the subscriber had, for nearly two years, suffered a malady, which had so far deprived him of the use of his legs, that he could neither walk nor stand. Every day the loss of power was greater; and the constant sedentary posture, to which he was doomed by day, deprived him of refreshing sleep by night. The want of corporeal vigor produced such a prostration of mental energy, that the melancholy prospect opened before him of years of life without action, and without regulated thought. And whenever sufficient sight broke in upon his benighted mind, to make the darkness that involved his prospects horribly distinct, there fell upon him such an "avalanche" of misery that life itself became a burthen. By the mercy of God, he is now, in a great degree, restored to the power of motion, (so as to walk) and to serenity of mind, by the skill and exertions of Dr. Hewett; and he publishes this (to him) exhilirating fact, that all those unfortunates, who have pined in helpless seclusion, or suffered like maladies in "hopeless of hope deferred," may know that there "is balm in Gilead, and a physician there," to whom all, who would apply, may be assured, that no suffering (by rash unskillfulness) awaits them; but that his mode of treatment is as immediately and constantly grateful to their sensations, as the result is successful and salutary.

The Physician above named is Dr. S. C. Hewett, bone setter, &c. 297, Washington street, Boston.

JOHN B. DERBY, *late Deputy Surveyor of the Customs, Boston.*
July 21, 1838. 21—6mo

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